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The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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WOMEN AND WAR

THE "BLACKLIST" IN POLITICS

HOW 24 SUFFRAGISTS WERE CONVERTED

AN APPEAL FOR RED CROSS FUNDS

HOW COLORADO LOOKS FRO NEVADA

NEW TACTICS OF MILITANTS

THE "BROADER SPHERE" ABNORMAL

TEN ANTI-SUFFRAGE REASONS

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"THE CONSERVATION OF COMMON SENSE"

By Edward Toal

ON July 30th Mrs. Austin M. Purves, Vice-Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Pennsylvania Association, published an article in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* entitled, "Suffrage Lore Now From Babes' Mouths," which excited much popular mirth and more suffrage anger.

The article was a humorous criticism of an observation by one of the Congressional Union leaders that the "cause" was "getting suffrage workers at a younger age each year," and that the "girl just out of college" decides to ally herself with suffrage because she "has been educated" and her "perspective broadened."

Among other things, Mrs. Purves said:

"A few weeks ago a junior club of Suffragists, aged 11 to 15, was started. It is in order now for some of its members to inform us that women are 'people' so that the older and 'less educated' feminine element may learn from the mouths of babes that women are not jellyfish or bluebirds, as otherwise might be supposed.

"Unless the movement for the conservation of common sense puts a speedy stop to some of these fantastic feminist notions and the recruiting of 'younger Suffragists each year,' some child of ten will shortly rise to let us know that any infant 'who accepts another's support' or 'promises obedience' is a 'slave,' and that 'economic independence' and 'votes for children' are 'human rights' under a 'true democracy.'

"Under this system, of course, the initiative and referendum will force poor, old, antiquated Nature to correct the great two-sex blunder, so that children may elect parents who are men only."

One paragraph of Mrs. Purves' article was casually devoted to quoting the sentiments expressed by Miss M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr, and commenting on them thus: "When one seriously faces the great primal fact that the average woman must bear at least three children, if the race is to continue, to replace herself, her husband and the child that disease or accident kills before maturity, it is appalling to hear a women's college president decrying marriage and maternity as horrors from which the educated woman should revolt, while the graduate with 'perspective broadened' sweetly announces that the virus of feminism is being implanted in the hearts of children."

On August 9th Miss Thomas devoted an eleven hundred word letter in the *Ledger* to a vitriolic attempt to show that Mrs. Purves had misquoted and misrepresented her. A reply to this was immediately drafted by Mrs. Purves, and the import of Miss Thomas' admitted address vigorously commented on at some length. Believing this would only prolong the controversy, and having only enough space for one war at a time, the *Ledger* would not print it, but permitted Mrs. Purves' vindication in the following letter, which it published on August 17th:

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir: Miss M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr, in her recent letter to the *Public Ledger*, accusing me of wilful misrepresentation and misquotation, proves absolutely that the sentences I quoted from her address were essentially exact.

The two sentences quoted by me were as follows:

"Women may have spent a lifetime" (?) "in fitting themselves for a scholar's work and then may be asked to choose between it and marriage. No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a horrible alternative."

Miss Thomas, in her letter, repeats these sentences, and says that they were delivered thus:

"Women scholars have another and still more cruel handicap. They may have spent half a lifetime in fitting themselves for their chosen work and then may be asked to choose between it and marriage. No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a horrible alternative."

The only misquotation is the omission of the word "half" before "a lifetime." I have in my possession what I thought was a correct report of Miss Thomas' speech with "half" omitted, demonstrating that the omission was not made or intended by me.

The last sentence, from which I estimated and commented upon Mrs. Thomas' views of the relative importance of the work done by women in the classroom and the home, was quoted just as Miss Thomas repeats it, without an error.

It has been my practice and care at all times to quote Suffragists and others with absolute exactness and to get the best authority available to determine the authenticity of published reports of speeches, etc., before using them in articles, or commenting on their import.

It is disconcerting to be accused of an attempt to defame the character of a fellow Philadelphian by misquotation; but I am truly grateful that Miss Thomas herself demonstrated her charges unjust and unfounded in fact. As for personalities, I concede that course to Miss Thomas.

B. P. C. Purves,
Vice-Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

However, an important victory was the net result of the controversy, as several newspaper writers who are Suffragists, with the usual disposition "to rush in where angels fear to tread," severely commented on Mrs. Purves' veracity immediately after Miss Thomas' letter was printed. As a result, when their editor heard the whole story, a retraction was made and they were ordered to give up writing on the suffrage question altogether. As the Suffragists had been getting about three columns a week of very cleverly written suffrage sophistry before, the unfairness of these writers to the "Antis" proved an injurious boomerang to the "cause." Anti-Suffragists, of course, always welcome the "franchise for feminists" viewpoint, but when journalists see no news of interest to women readers in anything that conflicts with the "cause," editorial attention must be called to instances of unfairness. However, the men "higher up" are always found courteous and impartial.

(Note—The Pennsylvania Association will shortly issue full text of the controversy in pamphlet form.)

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

IT is with great reluctance and deep regret that we are forced by the action of the Suffragists to continue political activities at this time. The State Associations have been urged to cut down expenses wherever possible and assume no undertaking which might possibly wait until this time of stress and strain is over. It is impossible, however, to allow our cause to be lost by default. We must show our colors and stand by a political faith that is larger than the advancement of some special propaganda. We must not stint our work for the Red Cross and other humane undertakings. We must add to this work an active protest against the blacklisting methods endorsed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

If the Suffragists are sincere in their threats to invade the districts of the eighteen men named in their "blacklist," the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will meet the issue fairly and squarely. We are prepared to send our ablest speakers into the campaign and see that the truth about the "Suffragist blacklist" is told and that full justice is done to the men selected for an unwarranted and unreasoning attack.

Attention must be called to the fact that the eighteen men designated on the list, without exception, have taken no position on the merits of woman suffrage. They are selected as objects of Suffragist wrath simply because they have taken a firm stand in Congress against an amendment to the Constitution in behalf of a question not passed upon by a great majority of the States. They have contended merely that the wishes of the American people should be voiced State by State before Congress is asked to tamper with the Constitution at the insistent demand of a few women who are impatient for the vote.

The Suffragists have long boasted of their ability to intimidate men in public life and sway the voters of their districts for or against them. The Anti-Suffragists have studiously refrained from participation in such discussions. It is no longer possible for them to do so.

(*Editorial New York Sun, August* 31, 1914)

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association has put nine Senators and nine Representatives in Congress on the black list. The guilt of the eighteen is that "their opposition to woman suffrage is so powerful as to constitute the greatest obstacle to Federal legislation that the women have to face." The compilers of the roll of darkness overlook the fact that the women who want suffrage are not known or suspected to be more numerous than the women who don't want it; that it is in the power of every State whose voters do want it to have it; that the woman Suffragists are by no means united in demanding a constitutional amendment; and that the imposition of woman suffrage on States opposed to it seems to many persons, be they pros or antis, undesirable.

This catalogue of the wicked contains such names as Root, Lodge, Brandegee, Underwood, Mann, Fitzgerald. Experience, knowledge, transcendent or high talents, blameless character, what are these? The one thing needful is to be pliant to the commands of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Such of the offending Senators and Representatives as shall again be candidates for their posts are to be hammered and tongued by the Suffragists. They are to be beaten, if beaten they can be, solely for their opposition to woman suffrage or to woman suffrage emanating from Washington. That is the cardinal test of fitness for public life and service.

It is the right and privilege of these ardent female souls to make these insistences and this sort of campaign. Will it persuade the doubtful or reconcile the scorners to see honorable and able men attacked for refusing to take a course to which they are bound by no mandate save that of certain imperious ladies, not untouched perhaps with a monomaniacal wrongheadedness? Does this essay in bulldozing tend to an increased appreciation of the mental sobriety and wisdom of word and action to be expected from votes for women?

Sometimes it seems as if the worst foes of woman suffrage were its too rash and sudden enthusiasts.

AT the time war was declared in Europe, the WOMAN'S PROTEST, containing an appeal for a $15,000 fund for work in the campaign States in the West, was ready for the mails. It was impossible to withdraw the appeal or to alter it in any way. Since the war opened, however, the Anti-Suffragists have endeavored to minimize their political activities in order to transfer their energies and resources to the work of relieving suffering humanity in the war zone. Every State Association is doing special work of some kind for the Red Cross Fund. Contributions from one cent to one hundred dollars are reported from the various headquarters.

New York State is preparing for "Rose Day" for the Red Cross, instead of the mass meeting planned for the season's opening activity. At several State fairs where the "Antis" have let it be known that they are raising contributions for the relief of the war sufferers through the Red Cross, they have received enthusiastic response, because the contribution box plan enables everybody to give something.

The Western States, where active campaigning is being carried on, have given willing and substantial support to the appeal.

If it had been possible to eliminate the campaigning in the Western States by a truce between the Suffragists and ourselves it would have been regarded as a most desirable measure.

The Suffragists seem to be still attempting to divert to their own uses funds urgently needed elsewhere. We find in the Chicago *Tribune* of August 31, 1914, this statement:

The public is to have an opportunity to deny itself for suffrage, now that the Suffragists have dropped all their jewels and most precious treasures into the melting pot for the cause.

At noon next Tuesday the girls who have been selling flowers and Suffragette kisses will leave the suffrage shop at 121 Dearborn street, each with a large, white box, similar to the Salvation Army gift boxes, only much larger. On each box will be a plea for alms for suffrage. The girls will leave 100 of these boxes in conspicuous places in department stores, hotels and other public centers.

WOMEN AND WAR

Written, February, 1914, By Mrs. J. T. Waterman

I ASKED a charming "New England Nun" lately why she was a Suffragist and she unhesitatingly replied: "Because if women voted there would soon be no more war." She added that when she "believed a principle was right she never troubled about results." These feminine ideas concerning government are of course emanations from the will or soul-inspirations, which have not in any way been subjected to the critical examination of reason, for women in general are no more opposed to war than men and government is in general more concerned with policy than with ethics and could not be conducted on any fixed principle of right or wrong. Government is very rarely asked to choose between right and wrong; it *is* frequently forced to decide questions of policy or expediency, to hesitate between the greater or lesser evil or the greater or lesser good—between advantage to one sectional necessity and loss to another sectional need. It is sometimes obliged to declare war in order to arrive at an honorable basis of peace, and generally with the consent of the governed and the enthusiastic approval of the women at the time. To deny this would be to deny militancy in its very essence and to utterly ignore the lesson of Parliament Square, as well as the latest utterance of the English Feminist leader that "violence" is the weapon which will and must be used to obtain political power. Is not this a frank acceptance of the doctrine that political power rests ultimately on a basis of force? The confusion of ideas seems to lie in the conception, so truly feminine, that violence is force, which of course is not by any means the case.

If the abolition of war is what women are striving for, why do the Suffragists take Joan of Arc as a symbolic figure-head? She is chosen, of course, only because she was a militant, for in no other respect does she conform to suffrage standards. Joan was a Royalist with a personal devotion to her king; a mystic who obeyed her God; a woman so tender that she wept at the sight of blood; the inspirer of men whose will and courage had begun to flag; a sincere and candid child before her judges, utterly free from any intellectual assumption; never a selfish claimant of power; never an aggressive and destructive agency; never in the least resembling the cheap and self-conscious burlesque which the Suffragists turn out by the gross for political advertisement. The real Joan of Arc appears once in history. The sham Joan appears periodically and, like the troubles of Hamlet's uncle, "in battalions." The Red Virgin of the Commune is as much the antithesis of Joan of Arc as anarchy is of order.

There is no doubt that the New England Nun was right in one thing. The best women fear and dread war and discord as they dread death and suffering for those they love, but it is not true that the noblest women would always vote against war. On the contrary, I know Frenchwomen who, living out of France, have sent their sons back to do their military service, and English women who make great financial sacrifices to put their sons in the army. The point of view of the noblest women is often that of the Spartan mother who said, "With your shield or upon it!" Women since the beginning of time have buckled on their lord's armor or held his stirrup cup with breaking but not selfish hearts.

In Ulster only yesterday 100,000 women signed the pledge of resistance to Home Rule which is practically a declaration of war if the issue is forced. In France to-day the women, disgusted with the Socialist irresponsibility and supine "peace at any price" dogmas, are teaching their sons to honor the army and their duty to serve if need be in their country's defense. Suffragists can no more guarantee that women as a whole would vote for the candidate who stood for peace than the Ancient Order of Hibernians could guarantee how all men would vote. They cannot even foretell how Suffragists would vote, for the Bosses of the Party have not yet got the machine in order. That could only come later. It is certain, however, that 100,000 women in Ulster would vote for war if Home Rule were forced upon them. We know this because they have pledged themselves to it not because a Party Boss promises it.

Where the idea arose that women were essentially peaceful I have never been able to discover. War has raged around women since the beginning.

> "Who was't destroyed the Capitol? A woman.
> Who lost Marc Antony the world? A woman.
> Who was the cause of a long ten years' war
> And laid at last old Troy in ashes?
> Woman! Deceitful, damnable, destructive woman."

This, of course, is a partial statement. But the great political women of history, like the small intriguantes, very soon overcame their aversion to bloodshed. Boadicea, Cleopatra, Catherine of Russia, Elizabeth of England, Maria Theresa, Catherine of Medici were not more merciful than men. Like Lord Kitchener they soon learned that it was impossible "to win battles without losing men," and they never asked or expected police protection while on the battlefield. These exceptional women possessed or acquired masculine characteristics—among which is the governmental and military capacity. They made war like men. Other women, without in the least acquiring this capacity, have urged men to war. The Empress Eugenie prided herself on being the cause of the war of 1870 which she called "My War." That women do not necessarily acquire the mental characteristics of men in acquiring their hard or agressive qualities is proved by the women of the French Revolution, the women of Parliament Square and the female corps of warriors in Dahomey. Woman remains whether for good or evil largely the emotional inspiration of men and the reaction of sex on sex as a means towards a higher civilization is one that cannot be neglected by sociologists. Hence the women of Ulster who solemnly sign a protest which may lead to war or the women of France who teach their sons true patriotism through personal sacrifice may be right, while the women who lead a riot or instigate to factional violence may be wrong and as far from the spiritual militancy of Joan of Arc or the mental qualities of Maria Theresa as destruction is from conservatism.

That women with the mental endowments of men exist we do not deny. How many such are found in the mob? How much logical faculty is possessed by suffragists who, while claiming equal industrial opportunity, "raise a howl of protest because women are found working in slaughter houses"; who, while declaring themselves "at war" and in "open rebellion," demand "adequate police protection" while on a raid; who demand military training while promising to abolish war; who clamor for equal rights and refuse equal punishments, using tears and hatchets with ambidextrous dexterity? Any woman may don masculine attire as did George Sand, or practise her morals, but not all can write George Sand's books. Any woman may rule, but Queen Victoria ruled wisely. Any woman may investigate the Trusts but Ida Tarbell got at the truth. And it is by no means certain that women with the governmental qualities well developed are generally Suffragists. The Suffragists seem, on the contrary, to be largely under the control of one fixed idea—an inspiration not a thought; like the New England Nun they remain serenely untroubled about results. The inspiration, they are satisfied, is all that is necessary. This, of course, is the spirit of fanaticism, the spirit of Liberty, Equal-

ity and Fraternity, the spirit of all hysterical efforts to ignore length, breadth and thickness and that moderation which is the basis of all true freedom.

We know that women forget moderation more quickly than do men. We know that women gave the death signal in the Roman Coliseum; we know that women counted the heads as they rolled from the guillotine and in the recent strikes in London the women were as belligerent as the men. Then, too, we know that Miss Jane Addams believes that on juries women will not flinch as men do from bringing in a sentence of death on another woman, and that the "tearful eye" and "trembling lip" will have no power to move them. Standards have indeed altered since Queen Victoria wept so bitterly at signing a death warrant. The millennium seems near at hand since men have grown so emasculated that they cannot enforce the law, and women so hard that they long for the privilege—but alas! that the boasted progress should so absolutely correspond to Plato's definition of decadence!

Miss Addams is right in saying that women should not be allowed exemption from the consequences of their acts, whether window breaking, husband murdering or theater burning. Even in the Gynocracy a man's life should be safe.

But what proof is there that women, or even Suffragists stand for peace? As a matter of fact most women are advocates of war, some for good reasons and some for bad, and those who are not make war when necessary with serene indifference to the principle involved. What have women ever cared for abstract principles?

At the last Peace Conference in Washington there were never more than half a dozen women present except at dress receptions. At the Peace Conference just held in Europe a small woman suddenly mounted the platform uninvited and delivered an impromptu and stirring oration—a sort of call to arms—in defense of Italy's right to appeal to the sword. She was a Mme. Adami, of Milan.

"Peace on earth, good will toward men" has been the hope of many generations, but it would require a confirmed optimist like my New England friend to see that Suffrage is doing much to accomplish these desirable results.

Peace rests on force, as the German Emperor recognized when he said: "Our army is to secure peace and if peace should be broken despite all, our army will, I trust, be strong enough to compel the re-establishment of peace."

Peace has never yet been secured by a combination of violence and weakness. Most of these ladies might have tested that in the nursery long ago.

THE "BLACKLIST" IN POLITICS

THE newspapers contained the following Associated Press dispatch August 30th:

CHICAGO, Aug. 29.—Nine United States Senators and nine representatives in Congress, "whose opposition to woman suffrage is so powerful as to constitute the greatest obstacle to Federal legislation that the women have to face," are named in a statement issued here to-day by the National American Suffrage Association.

The statement is called a "Blacklist" by its authors. It was written by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the Association, and Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman of the Congressional Committee, and appeals to all suffrage organizations to concentrate their influence to defeat for re-election the men named.

The nine Senators are Brandegee of Connecticut, Clarke of Arkansas, Dillingham of Vermont, Fletcher of Florida, Gore of Oklahoma, Root of New York, Shively of Indiana, Smith of Maryland and Lodge of Massachusetts.

The members of the House of Representatives named are Underwood of Alabama, Mann of Illinois, Fitzgerald of New York, Page of North Carolina, Callaway of Texas, Garner of Texas, Garrett of Tennessee, Hay of Virginia and Sisson of Mississippi.

The same day at Marble House, Newport, Mrs. Belmont and members of suffrage organizations from twenty States held a conference of the Advisory Committee of the Congressional Union and voted unanimously to support the Bristow-Mondell resolution in Congress instead of the Shafroth-Palmer bill, which is backed by the Congressional Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

According to the Chicago *Tribune* of September 2d, the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association will not do any blacklisting "for the present." The Executive Board voted that it is not in the province of the State board to "blacklist" candidates. This verdict was decided with eight members voting "against" and three "for" the blacklist system.

Mrs. Kate Wood Ray, a member of the board of the Indiana Equal Suffrage Association and president of the Civic League at Gary, approved of the "blacklist" for candidates.

"We intend to interview every candidate and learn how he stands on suffrage and the constitutional convention for Indiana in September. If he disapproves of either suffrage or the convention the women will work to defeat his election.

"We wish to revise the State constitution and have suffrage written into the laws of Indiana. The voters will have a chance to vote as to whether the State legislature shall call a convention this fall to amend the constitution. It is important to know the candidates who approve or disapprove these questions so interesting to women."

"BLACK LISTED"

(From New Haven *Register*, August 31)

Several Senators and Congressmen whose records mark them as useful and whose eminence argues them of more than average ability in our present list of national law-makers, have been "black-listed"—the term is one chosen by the ladies themselves—by the National American Suffrage Association because, it is alleged, they have opposed the cause. That is to say, such indirect or direct influence as the Suffragists possess will be exerted for the termination of their public careers because they have not favored legislation advancing the extension of voting rights to women. In the list are such Senators as Brandegee, Gore and Lodge, and such members of the lower house as Underwood, Mann and Hay.

It is not conceivable that any member of Congress opposes woman suffrage from any motives less admirable than an honest belief that it would not be good for the republic. Among men such a motive is entitled to respect and receives respect. Fair men do not employ the black list in politics. They fight in the open. If women are to get anywhere in politics they will not use methods less commendable than do men.

It may be said, to be sure, that even the black list is more to be desired than the least of the methods used by the British Suffragettes. True enough. But this is the United States, a land founded on freedom of speech and liberty of opinion for both men and women. We delight in fair play and profess to practice it. The underhand defeat of a man for re-election for no better reason than that he dares to honestly differ in opinion is not going to rise high in popular favor in this land of square dealing.

HOW 24 SUFFRAGE LEADERS WERE "CONVERTED"

By Bingham Leatherbee.

IN a Sunday special of the New York *Press* of recent issue is a full-page article headed, "Twenty-four Women Suffrage Leaders Tell How They Were Converted to Cause." Having carefully read this article and the pseudo reasons given, the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the petty and trivial agents which caused the conversion of the women quoted, nor to realize that they are lacking in a true sense of proportion. Instead of asserting that they have made a careful study of the subject of woman franchise, weighed all the facts and arguments on either side and then, convinced of the right of "the cause," given it their support, they merely mention little personal episodes which were sufficient to make them suffragists without further investigation. Dr. Shaw, perpetual president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, was confirmed in the movement because as a slum worker she "saw that the majority of unfortunate young women had been driven to ruin because they were unable to earn a livelihood." Dr. Mary Halton determined to devote herself to woman suffrage because she was unable to lobby through Albany a public health bill. Mrs. Calvin Tomkins entered the work because she happened to see a suffrage parade in London and the appearance of the women appealed to her taste. Mrs. William Grant Brown was converted because women's clubs in which she was interested had been asked by men to assist in political campaigns. Mrs. Robert Elder feels that women should not submit to laws that they do not make, a dangerous political theory which would set anarchy free. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch "was born a suffragist," and thus suffers from congenital hereditary bias over which she has no control. Mrs. Robert Adamson is a suffragist because she believes that both sexes should live by the same standards and strive for the same ideals. Mrs. Francis B. Thurber, Jr., was converted by listening to several speeches by Christabel Pankhurst. Mrs. Joseph Sampson Stevens says, "Women's powers have been an economic waste in the modern world—the world of machinery and manufacture," and she would remedy this waste by forcing them into politics. Mrs. Marcus M. Marks believes in suffrage because she says that she has not yet found "one strong argument against it," although one may wonder where she has looked. While Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse says there is "nothing dramatic" in the way she became a suffragist, she admits that it was the Washington parade that won her and she marched herself in that of New York. Mrs. Iñez Milholland Boissevain, the much advertised suffrage beauty, was first stirred to active participation when she worked with the Salvation Army in London and "saw thousands of women working in the sweatshops" and "standing in the bread lines" with "nothing to say concerning their scale of wages." Mrs. Clarence Burns "began to see daylight" when she failed to get an educational bill passed at Albany. Miss Alice Carpenter, having inherited the cause from a suffragist grandfather and mother, developed the case through interest in the shirtwaist makers' strike, when it became perfectly apparent to her (although not to the majority of economic experts) that the working women badly needed the vote to better protect themselves against the discriminations which were made so apparent at this time. Mrs. James Winters Brannan was also born a suffragist, which may account for her opinion of the British militant furies as "splendid, ennobling examples" and a "great inspiration." Mrs. William Colt gives no reason and Mrs. Henry Wise Miller became a suffragist when she "realized it was only just and right that women should possess the ballot."

Here we have eighteen more or less prominent suffrage workers answering a direct question without giving a reasonable reply. They all seem to have missed the point and lost an excellent opportunity for showing good, intelligent and sufficient reasons why they should be admitted to the franchise. No mention is made in any of the replies of any of the great fundamental principles of government; nothing is said as to the great political problems which confront us to-day; there is no allusion as to what the result of the woman vote will be nor the principles upon which it shall be granted. There is nothing worthy of consideration in any of these eighteen statements, merely trivialities. Three were born suffragists, two became so from disappointment of legislative action on bills in which they were interested, two were converted by British militancy and two by the glamor of suffrage parades. Are the reasons given of sufficient weight to impose the doubtful experiment of woman suffrage upon a country confronted by such grave problems as corporation control, interstate commerce, fortification and defense, foreign relations, banking and currency reforms and tariff measures?

AN APPEAL FOR RED CROSS FUNDS

THE following letter dated August 25, 1914, from Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was addressed to the New York newspapers:

These are sobering days. The world war checks all our habits of thought and action. A survey and possibly a revision of our standard of values is demanded. What are the new duties taught by this incredible occasion? The most obvious duty is that of strictest economy in energy and money expenditure. The Federal Government is appealed to "to cut to the bone all appropriation bills where that is possible." One of Mayor Mitchel's first acts in these days of stress was to urge upon the heads of City Department the postponement of all undertakings, however good in themselves, which might await a more favorable time for development. The Mayor's Committee on Food Supplies makes its appeal to the individual housewife to conserve her interest by looking well to the ways of her household. It is a time to grapple with conditions; not a time to demonstrate a theory. The souls of American women and of American men protest against this war; but American women, even though their imagination sickens with the burden of the war must face its consequences. It is not a time to organize peace parades, to seek this outlet which shall satisfy one's desire for emotional expression, for spectacular demonstration against a great calamity. Woman needs all her energy, all her money to devise a means of weathering this storm and of succoring those who may be engulfed. The Woman's Peace Parade Committee appeals to those who desire to help to "raise money" for its expenses. Is this a time for expendi-

ture on street parades? It surely is a time for woman to show her skill in household management and her tender mercy toward those who are afflicted or distressed. A dollar given to the American Red Cross will do more good—shall I say to donor as well as to recipient—than ten times that amount spent in publicity for an ill-timed parade?

I appeal to all woman, of all creeds, of all shades of political faith to give to the merciful work of alleviation of suffering undertaken by the American Red Cross. I appeal to those women to expend neither time nor money in unrewarding ways. This day I am sending to all anti-suffrage organizations throughout the country an appeal to cut down their political activities and expenditures to the lowest possible amount and to collect funds for the American Red Cross work.

It is time for a demonstration by the women of America that they are loyal to the traditions of self-sacrifice and devoted service, however obscure the way of that service may be.

Parades may have their place, but now is not their hour.

HOW COLORADO LOOKS FROM NEVADA

(*Editorial in Reno, Nev., Gazette, August* 13.)

LEAVE IT TO THESE WOMEN.

Mrs. Wenonah Pinkham, of Colorado, is campaigning in Massachusetts in behalf of Woman Suffrage. Here is one of her statements:

"Nevada is a State without woman suffrage, surrounded by States where women have the vote, consequently in Nevada vice is rampant, having been driven from the other States by the women and taking refuge under the protection of the man-governed State."

The *Gazette* has not the honor of Mrs. Pinkham's acquaintance but it enjoys and honors the acquaintance of many women who have come to Nevada from Colorado. These women are home-makers, not politicians. They have contributed to the morals and not to the vice of the State. They are of the type that Nevada welcomes and honors. They brought neither vice nor anarchy to Nevada and they found less than they left behind. They are not pleading for Woman Suffrage in Nevada.

Their experience in Colorado was sufficient. They saw it at work. Instead of commending it they are warning the State against it. Many of them, among the best women of the land, are organized to oppose it, several are leaders in the organization. If Women Suffrage in Nevada were left to those women of Nevada who came from Colorado the proposed amendment would be defeated 5 to 1.

The *Gazette* recently printed from Denver the story of "The Rise of the Female Demagogue." Mrs. Pinkham seems to justify the story. Presumably she has special reference to the so-called "social evil." If so, her first duty is to clean up Denver or expunge the police and court records of that city. She might then with profit to society put in a little time at a few other points in the State and then pass on to Arizona, California, Utah and Idaho.

Nevada has received from Colorado many who could well have been spared. The records of a certain institution at Carson maintained for the detention of certain undesirables are eloquent on this point. While these undesirables didn't wear skirts, every one of them, living to-day and at liberty, is trying to drag woman into politics.

The I. W. W.'s who infested Southern Nevada, who made necessary the only visit of United States troops in the history of the State and whose activities led to the organization of the State Police, were largely from Colorado. The others were from Idaho, another State where women were long ago "emancipated." Mrs. Pinkham and her "fellow statesmen" had previously been afforded 14 years in Colorado and 11 years in Idaho to make their States so attractive that these people would stay at home and obey the law.

NEW TACTICS OF THE BRITISH MILITANTS

TO *the Editor of the* PROTEST:

In the New York *Times*, issue of August 6th, appears an article from Miss Elizabeth Freeman making certain charges against English Anti-Suffragists. Her general statement is that Anti-Suffragists "make attacks on people, and the militant suffragettes merely do things and are attacked themselves." Among the "things" "merely done" by suffragettes are personal attacks on Cabinet Ministers, such as the assault of Mr. Winston Churchill on a railway station by a woman with a whip, an assault on Mr. Birrell while walking in the park, and a heavy blow which was intended for Mr. Asquith but which felled to the ground Lord Weardale, who was on his way to a Royal garden party. These, of course, are merely samples of the mildness of suffragette tactics.

The specific charges brought against "Antis" are two. First, that they have "an organization called the Vigilance Committee which starts conflagrations on its own account." In the first place, there is no such "organization" as is suggested by this paragraph, but in towns or villages where there are ancient churches or historic monuments, beautiful parks or recreation grounds, it has been found necessary to form local watch committees to help the police in guarding these possessions. I challenge Miss Freeman to produce any evidence that such committees, usually arranged by the most respectable and responsible persons in the neighborhood, have ever been convicted of causing any conflagrations or other damages. At Walton, where a beautiful and historic church was burned to the ground by suffragettes, the clergyman restrained the angry crowd from acts of retaliation on the home of a local suffragette. Miss Freeman's statement is false on the face of it. She says specifically that "when suffragettes have set fire to something there will be a fire in or near one of the suffragette's homes." Will she give the names of any such homes? And will she explain why a retaliatory fire should be lighted "near" such a home, where, presumably, it would damage other people's property.

Her second specific charge is that suffragettes are badly hurt when exercising their legitimate privilege of asking questions at a public meeting. She explains that "heckling" a speaker is perfectly legitimate in England. This is true, but it is also true that the rule of all such meetings is that when the chairman requests silence he must be obeyed, and that questions or heckling are permitted only by his leave at a stated time during the meeting. She describes the experiences of Dr. Anna Shaw at an Anti-Suffrage meeting in Queens Hall. I was one of the organizers of that meeting, and from her description I can identify Dr. Shaw as one of a small group of suffragettes who, having somehow obtained a ticket for a part of the hall which was supposed to be reserved exclusively for our own supporters,

and which she could only have got by some form of fraud, proceeded to interrupt the chairman, Lord Cromer, to such an extent that he had to repeat many sentences four times over. These tactics, employed by small groups of suffragettes all over the hall, rendered many of the speeches inaudible and naturally aroused great indignation in that portion of the large audience which had come to listen to the speeches. I may mention that every effort had been made to reserve this meeting for people who were not suffragettes, and that those not personally known to us had been asked to sign the Anti-Suffrage petition before being allowed to purchase tickets!

I regret to say that a scrimmage did take place outside Queen's Hall that night, and that similar scenes had become all too common, but the cause was not the policy or tactics of avowed Antis, but the aggressive attitude of suffragettes themselves, and the anger of the crowd against them. On this occasion many Anti-Suffragists got squeezed and bruised because of a crowd of suffragettes who, unable to get in, surged round the exits, and a plain-clothes policeman who was on duty told me that one suffragette was armed with a sword stick.

After this meeting we adopted (in common with other societies) the practice of putting out interrupters who would not obey the ruling of the chair, but at all our public meetings questions have been permitted at the proper time and have been answered by the chair and speakers.

I am glad to say that, at the present moment, we have forgotten all our internal conflicts. There are no enemies and no parties within our nation. We all feel as if suffragettes and the whole woman question belonged to the middle ages. I am organizing at the headquarters of the Red Cross Association and all our women are working at something. Woman suffrage seems as little important as—alchemy. In what shape it will reappear by and by I don't know but I am convinced that the turning of many women's energies into other channels will permanently affect it. It was, in this country, mainly the refuge of the bored and unemployed, or the crank or the over-clever. Now they are all taking up nursing! Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists are united in their efforts to help our country in her hour of need, and we are rivals only in our desire to serve.

Yours, etc.,

ETHEL COLQUHOUN (MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN),
National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage,
London, England.

MILITANTS BREAK TRUCE

ON August 17th the militant suffragists in London broke their self-imposed promise not to continue their campaign for the vote while the war was in progress.

Under the leadership of "Gen." Mrs. Flora Drummond a big crowd of "furies" besieged the Home Office, demanding to see Home Secretary McKenna.

Doors barred their entrance and the police were summoned. The crowd that gathered was bitterly hostile to the women and policemen saved them from violence with great difficulty.

Seventeen arrests were made, including Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Dacre Fox and Miss Mary Richardson. The last-named achieved fame as the slasher of the Velasquez "Venus." After being detained for an hour the Suffragettes were released.

The Women's Social and Political Union voluntarily pledged the Government cessation from its militant campaign immediately after the declaration of war against Germany. Until this time the pledge had been kept, and many museums, closed for fear of the militants' destructive tactics, had been reopened. The demonstration came as a surprise to the police.

The *New York World*, commenting editorially on the outbreak, says:

MORE MILITANT BELLIGERENCY.

While England is engaged in fighting its foes abroad its peace at home is imperilled by the renewal of suffragette assaults on Cabinet officers. Having voluntarily pledged the Government that they would cease hostilities, following the declaration of war against Germany, the militants are now at it again.

Is this militant honor? Mere masculine opinion of the breach of faith will be that it is unsportsmanlike—that it is as if the Irish should break John Redmond's solemn promise and proceed to renew Home-Rule hostilities at a critical moment. The temper of the street crowds that threatened "the furies" with violence when they besieged the Home Office should give them pause.

Will it not occur to the British suffragettes that if they are ever to get the vote their policy now is to aid and not embarrass the Government?

The Women's Political Equality League of Rhode Island would seem to be worthy of the immediate attention of Mrs. Jerome M. Fitz, secretary of the Rhode Island Suffrage Association. Recently Mrs. Fitz issued a very fervid condemnation of false stories being set afloat regarding the suffrage movement. While she did not take it up directly, others interested in the cause have been at some pains to deny stories printed at different times to the effect that the Political Equality League had endorsed the English militants. Just to clear this matter up an inquiry was made of the League by an outsider as to where it stood, and in reply a letter was received in which the secretary, Inzeborg Kindstedt, confirmed the story of the endorsement.

"Certainly," she wrote, "Mrs. Pankhurst is a wonderful woman and the English militants of which she is a leader are the real advertisers of the world's human movement of to-day." She also O.K.'s as correct a newspaper clipping in which the endorsement was printed in detail.

"GROSS FOLLY"

LIFE insurance taken out by a husband for the protection of his family is the latest male effort for amelioration of misery to attract the scorn of the suffragists. The attention of the Brookline Anti-Suffragists has been called to a recent number of the *Fra* published by Elbert Hubbard, in which Alice Hubbard tirades against it.

"It is gross and it is folly for husbands," she says, "to get their lives insured for wives to use after these men are dead. What can a woman do with money after a lifetime of being deprived of it? She can only give it back to other men for them to invest for her. And the alleged purpose of the 'insurance' is lost.

"Life insurance is for infants, idiots and the helpless, not for wives, mothers of the human race."

The same lady has no doubt in her mind as to the real aim of the suffrage workers. "Women are demanding suffrage," she says, "but the vote is only one item in the big demand. Their demand is for natural exercise. It is necessary in order that they may live. Shut out from the work of the world, they are breathless, cabined, cribbed, shut in to saucy doubts and fears. Women demand economic independence."

Feminism As Its Friends View It

"The drag chains of maternity."—Frau Rosa Magrader.

"Human beings believe their duty is far outside being mothers; even a kitten could be a mother."—Charlotte Perkins Stetson Gilman.

"Woman should be made free from all the limitations of law, of dogma and of custom."—Max Eastman.

TEN ANTI-SUFFRAGE REASONS

THE Minneapolis Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women has issued as a leaflet the following, with the heading: "Some Reasons Why We Oppose Votes for Women in Minnesota":

The great advance of women in the last century—moral, intellectual and economic—has been made *without* the vote. Therefore, we believe the vote is not needed for their further advancement.

In the large sense, women now stand outside of politics and are therefore free to appeal to any party in matters of Municipal and State Welfare, including Charity and Reform, in a non-partisan spirit. However, women have the privilege of voting for the School Board and the Library Board. Last year, these two Boards received from taxes and bond issues the sum of $2,993,962.27, or about one-third of the city appropriation. As only about 6 per cent. of the women voted on the administration of these funds, why give them further representation?

The basis of Government is Force, its stability rests upon its physical power to enforce its laws. Therefore, it is inexpedient to grant the vote to women who CAN NOT so enforce the laws they may enact.

Voting is only a small part of Government. The need of America is not an increased quantity but an improved quality of the vote. We consider the interests of the Community to be more important than those of the Individual.

The vote is *not* a natural right, nor is it a right bestowed upon tax payers. It is NOT a question of right, but of expediency for the public welfare.

Woman's suffrage is the demand of a *minority* of women. The *majority* of women are *not* asking for it. According to the last U. S. Census report obtainable, there are 24,555,754 women of voting age in the United States and the Suffrage Party claim three to four million of this number. Should the minority rule the majority?

Woman's vote is *not* a factor in the Prohibition movement, because out of their eleven suffrage States, Kansas is the only one which has Prohibition and that State had Prohibition many years before women had the vote. Eight Non-Suffrage States ARE Prohibition States.

Wages depend upon the markets, upon labor competition, upon skill and permanency, upon quality of output; wages are determined by supply and demand, *not* by the ballot.

Suffrage States do *not* show better laws governing prostitution than Non-Suffrage States. The *enforcement* of these laws shows no improvement in Suffrage States.

Public Opinion is the real remedial agent. Women banded together, as disinterested and non-partisan workers for the public good, can mould public opinion *better* than voting women divided by party politics; just as men have organized non-partisan Clubs and Commissions for purposes of improvement and reform.

Please take the trouble to look up the laws of Minnesota governing *Child Labor, Hours and Protection for Woman's Labor, High Saloon License, Restricted Saloon Districts, Factory Laws, Health Laws, Mothers' Pensions, Juvenile Court, Equal Guardianship Laws, Property Right and Inheritance Laws.* You will find them in most instances *superior* to those in Suffrage States and in *no* instances discriminating against women.

We do, therefore, respectfully protest against the granting of Votes for Women in our State. We believe that Political Equality will deprive women of special privileges hitherto accorded to her by law, and would be a menace to American Womanhood and to American Government.

Our Association has been formed for the purpose of conducting a purely EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN. If you are in sympathy with this aim and believe as we do in our cause, will you not become a member of our Association?

Bestowal of Suffrage a State Right

WASHINGTON, August 30.—"I shall resolutely oppose all propositions looking to national prohibition and woman suffrage," declared a statement issued to-day by Representative Robert L. Henry, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, before which the fight on each of these measures is pending. "It is not possible to draw any amendment providing national prohibition that I am willing to support."

Representative Henry's statement was issued in connection with a letter to Dr. J. H. Gambril, of Dallas, head of the Texas Anti-Saloon League, who asked Mr. Henry to review the pending amendments and decide whether a proposal for national prohibition could be so framed as to win his support. In his letter, Mr. Henry points out that with the passage of the Webb bill the question of shipment of liquor into prohibition territory was remanded to the jurisdiction of the several States.

"We are now asked," the letter adds, "to reverse our course and surrender the police powers of the sovereign States to absolute Federal control."

With four of the eleven members of the Rules Committee opposed to a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, two others probably against it, and four in favor, it is regarded as improbable that the matter will be brought up during the present or December sessions of Congress.

A "BROADER SPHERE" NOT NORMAL

(*From Ladies' Home Journal*, 1914)

THE woman who deliberately chooses a public life; who stands before audiences and speaks eloquently of "woman's broader sphere"; who sometimes seems to the domestic woman to be "doing things" in the great world, in comparison to which her own world seems restricted, may for the moment win our applause, and by her arguments, cleverly phrased, make us wonder. But one fact remains divinely potent; few human beings—men or women—deliberately renounce the blessedness of normal life. Most women, nearly all women, are at heart mothers; an inscrutable Providence has made them so. While they have youth, or while ambition remains later in life, they may be able to hide the fact. But one experience is the confessed experience of all such women—that as the years pass life loses many of the interests which once were deemed potent, and the childless woman finds it fearfully hollow and empty at the end. Then it is that she looks back and envies her sister who accepted a woman's normal life, and who, with a womanly spirit, has found, deep planted in her mother-heart and growing with her mother-love, a capacity for joy that makes the most glorious career seem a mere triviality.

"Yes," said Frances E. Willard, only a few months before she passed away, to a friend who was complimenting her on the work she had accomplished in the world, "and if I had it to do over again I would exchange it all for a pair of baby arms. That," she concluded, as her eyes filled, "is normal for a woman."

"NO VOTE HELPED" IN AUSTRALIA

(From Rochester, N. Y., Post-Express, August 24.)

IN view of the constant claims made by suffragists as to the wonderful success of woman suffrage in Australia, the following testimony is of especial interest. It was given at a meeting in London by Mrs. Vickery, a prominent worker in the cause of social reform in New South Wales, who had come to Europe to attend the International Congress of Women. Mrs. Vickery said:

I am not against woman suffrage in principle, but I wish to tell you how little it has done in New South Wales. My experience there is that the educated women as a whole think very little about the vote, and ignore their responsibilities in connection with it. In spite of all the efforts that are made to arouse women's interest in politics, the greater portion of the female clerks and professional girls will not take the trouble to go to the poll. In cases when a holiday has been given them on polling days in order to induce them to register their vote, less than a quarter of those who were thus enabled to vote cared to go to the poll, the others all going off on excursions. Not once since women got the vote have they combined for the furtherance of legislation for women and children. Woman suffrage has simply forwarded the most socialistic form of legislation. Socialism is the only gainer.

It is quite astounding to us Australians to hear and see the women who are put up here to talk about the result of woman suffrage in Australia. Not one of them really knows anything about social work; they have never done any. They like to talk and stump the country and boast about women; they never take the trouble really to do anything for social reform. I hear women say that the possession of the vote would make women act up to their responsibilities. I say that has not happened in Australia! They ignore their duties. Then I hear that woman suffrage will purify politics. That is not my experience. Women will not bother themselves about it at all. At the last election in which I took part the register rolls were falsified, and names forged, and not a woman raised her voice in protest. I have known an official elected who had been in jail for false witness, and he got his post through the women's votes. I have worked for temperance and social reform for years and years, but have not received any more help from women since they voted than before. I hear suffragists say that women's vote put an end to sweating and helped the moral question. It is not true. We never had and never could have sweating as you know it here, but such under-payment as existed was put an end to through the private voluntary exertions of Miss Rose Scott—it had nothing whatever to do with women's votes. The age of consent was raised, and how? By many of us going on deputations to the officials, and they told us we must get up petitions, and we got them; we slaved ourselves to get signatures, and when we had got enough we sent them in, agitated, and made the officials see that the public were on our side, and they raised the age. They were not against us, they only wanted the public to express themselves. No vote helped us; it was all private work.

I have come back to England after some years, and now I ask women, what are you doing for temperance or social reform, or whatever they say their interest is? And they all say: "Oh, we are working for the suffrage." If they only knew what I know, and had experienced what I have experienced they would know what a sham it all is. They are leaving the real work for an empty cry. Women's votes don't bring about reforms; it is women's endeavors and hard struggles against evils. Government listens to women far more when they have not got the vote, because it knows there is no party to think about. Women do not do away with the excesses of party.

Overheard in Boston during the Suffrage Parade:

"There's Lizzie after all; hasn't she magnificent courage? She's left four children home alone sick with the measles."

Failure of Suffrage to Help Western Women

SUFFRAGE has not made good for women in the States of the Union in which it is the law. Allowing that in New Zealand, the Fiji Islands and Finland, as claimed, it has decreased infant mortality, right at home in our own country the fulfillments are far below the promises. Mrs. Ruth Guthrie Harding, of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, who recently made a study of the conditions, reports as follows:

"In Colorado women have voted 21 years, in Utah and Idaho for 18, in Wyoming 14. In none of these States is the status of woman improved by beneficient laws that are not better developed under neighboring male suffrage States.

"Night work for women is not prohibited in Colorado, Idaho, Utah or Wyoming —and this fact renders ineffective any eight-hour law such as has been passed in Colorado, which applies only to women in 'standing occupations' and allows them to work seven days, or fifty-six hours a week."

Not one of these States where women have voted for a generation has a workman's compensation act, although 22 States have gotten such legislation under male suffrage. The second State in the Union to enact a workman's compensation act was Nevada, a male suffrage State bordering on Idaho and Utah. As to child labor, we see that Wyoming and Utah prohibit the working of children only in mines.

"REFORMS POSTPONED" IN CALIFORNIA

(Extracts from a Letter from a Prominent Californian)

"I DO not wonder that you are aroused by the actions of the proponents of Suffrage. The manner of the attempt both in England and in this country is sufficient to condemn the proposition, but practical experience in the principal States where woman suffrage prevails is the overwhelming proof that it is undesirable and harmful. Colorado has afforded abundant examples of the utter inadequacy of women's votes to effect reform for women and children especially, the only ground on which a respectable reason can be based; but all the elements of ordinary political corruption are present and active without diminution. This shows that the women vote just as the men did and do, simply intensifying the conditions. If the public expression of men be right it does not need intensifying; if wrong it is strengthened.

"This is exactly the state of affairs in California. In addition there is a distinct lowering of the tone of the communities in which the women become active in politics and a marked decadence of the chivalrous attitude of the men towards women. Women who, before they began to vote and to hold office, were universally respected and so mentioned, if at all, are now derided and called all sorts of unseemly names, although in large degree they are not much more in the public eye than formerly, except for the office-holding and the political stump work. It is because they have put themselves on the same plane as men and seek to employ the same methods. In other words, they are becoming so much like men that they are treated as such, and part with their peculiar privileges and their desirable characteristics as women in relation to men and affairs. The loss is inestimable both to them and to men. Genuine reforms for their benefit and for the home and especially for children are postponed indefinitely."

CONVENTION, RED CROSS AND OTHER ANTI-SUFFRAGE STATE WORK

MASSACHUSETTS

SINCE our last report Branches have been formed at South Braintree, Townsend, Barre and Nahant, with strong committees who have taken hold of the work with great vigor and are securing new recruits each day. Meetings were held in August at Westminster, Marblehead, Nahant, Falmouth, Woods Hole, Vineyard Haven, Marion and Wareham and already the September calendar is well filled, meetings having been arranged for at Stirling, Athol, Royalston, Bridgewater, South Deerfield, Rowe, and a large public meeting at Greenfield. The third week in September will be devoted to a campaign in the Connecticut Valley.

There was a large attendance at the meeting of the Executive, Education, Organization and County Committees meeting held at Boston headquarters on the morning of Friday, August 21st, on which occasion the National President was an honored guest and gave an interesting talk on the situation in the Western campaign States and the work being done by the National Association.

At this meeting the Public Interests League reported that since the appeal "Sacrifice Something for the Red Cross" had been placed in the window at League headquarters on Boylston Street and at the Milk Street Shop, generous contributions have been received from the general public as well as from members of the League and the Association. These contributions will be forwarded by the League to the International Red Cross Society for their work in connection with the European War.

The County Committee reported that the total number of Branches in Massachusetts cities and towns is now 94. The new State Organizer, Miss Dorothy Godfrey, has adopted the slogan, "Ten Branches in Ten Weeks" and present results seem an indication that she will be more than successful.

The Printing Committee reported an unusually large demand for literature, Brookline and Milton Branches having distributed large amounts in the Western States, while the requests received at headquarters and at the shops have shown no falling off during the vacation period.

NEW YORK

By Miss Alice Hill Chittenden

IN summing up recent experiences at the Republican "Informal Convention" and the Democratic Conference held a week apart at Saratoga, we might paraphrase Cæsar's famous utterance and exclaim: "We went; we were heard; we won."

Why was it necessary, I am asked, for the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage to be represented at such political gatherings?

I will answer this question later, but first let me try and give Protest readers a picture of the famous old United States Hotel at Saratoga during a political convention which was invaded by women.

When the convention delegates entered the hotel the first thing they saw was a huge "Votes for Women" banner stretched right across the court where political leaders of two generations have congregated, while the Pankhurst militant colors, green, white and violet, floated from the balconies of one cottage, used as suffrage headquarters, and the blue and yellow flags of the Empire State Suffrage Committee were hung from another. As they sauntered down the long porches to reach State headquarters, they found women elbowing their way through crowds of men, or seated in chairs in front of cottages waiting to waylay some leader as he emerged, or not infrequently interrupting groups of men talking together, by asking them to urge the endorsement of woman suffrage in the Republican platform.

Did the men like this new element in the convention? I heard but one opinion expressed: "I don't want to have my wife or sister doing this."

Every night there were speeches from an automobile in front of the hotel and the suffrage speakers did not hesitate to vociferously denounce by name some of the prominent party leaders who would not yield to their persuasions.

We had no headquarters, no banners, and there were only two of us doing the active work the occasion required, but the recognition that there are two distinct parties to this question of woman suffrage is now so general among all thoughtful men, that we have no choice but to go and plead our case whenever the suffragists are heard.

Two years ago the Republicans and Democrats inserted planks in their respective platforms, favoring the submission of a woman suffrage constitutional amendment, through proper legislative enactment, to the voters. Such an amendment was passed by the Legislature of 1913, and we therefore desired that both parties should this year merely reaffirm their plank of 1912 by urging the coming Legislature to again pass the amendment in order that it might be submitted to the voters in November, 1915.

The Suffragists, on the other hand, not only wanted both parties to endorse woman suffrage in their platforms, but also urged that all delegates to the Constitutional Convention should be pledged in advance by their parties to vote to submit a woman suffrage amendment if the question was brought before the Convention for consideration.

During our four days' stay at the Republican Convention we appeared before two committees. On Saturday evening we had a hearing before Senator Root's Platform Committee, and again on Tuesday afternoon before the Committee on Resolutions. When the woman suffrage plank was finally presented to the Convention we were entirely satisfied with it.

It read as follows: "The resolution of the Republican Convention of 1912 to submit promptly to the voters of the State the question of woman suffrage should be carried out. This is already in course of fulfillment by action of the Legislature of 1913, and we recommend that it be completed in the Legislature to be elected next autumn. We also recommend that the Constitutional Convention deal with the subject in such a way as to ensure, in any event, the submission of this question to the electors of this State in 1915 as a separate proposition without recommendation by the party for or against."

The following week at the Grand Union Hotel, where the Democratic Conference was held, there was the same display of banners and flags; the same women moving among the delegates; the same speeches from automobiles denouncing Republican leaders, and furthermore, a frank confession from one speaker, that they could not expect to swing New York State for woman suffrage in 1915 unless they could persuade one of the big parties to endorse the movement in their platform. "We failed with the Republicans," she exclaimed, "and now we hope to get it from the Democrats."

At the Democratic Conference we had but one hearing, which was before the Platform Committee of which the Hon. William F. McCombs, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, was chairman. The full platform recommended by that committee was read at the conference the morning following our hearing, and the suffrage plank was received in dead silence by the Suffragists. At the afternoon session, Ex-Speaker Assemblyman Smith, moved that the woman suffrage plank be amended by inserting the two words "and growth" after the words, "widespread interest," whereupon the Suffragists applauded wildly.

The plank as amended reads as follows: "We recognize the widespread interest in

and growth of this question, and we pledge ourselves to the submission of a constitutional amendment to the voters of the State, either through the act of the next Legislature or of the Constitutional Convention."

It is impossible to see how the addition of those two words can be translated to mean endorsement, but the Suffragists declare they have received what they want from the Democrats. They are welcome to any comfort they can get out of this, but the fact is that the question of woman suffrage remains a *non-partisan* one in the State of New York, *and no Republican or Democratic voter can be appealed to by any suffrage orator to vote for this measure in 1915 because his party endorsed it.*

Our hearty thanks are due to the leaders and members of both parties who listened with kind attention, not only to our plea before the committees, but also to our arguments when presented in personal conversations and interviews. Their unfailing courtesy helped to make less irksome and difficult the task we undertook.

I was ably assisted in the active work at Saratoga by Mrs. Charles H. Halcomb, and other members and friends came from neighboring places for the hearings, among them being Mrs. D. Cady Herrick and Miss Herrick, of Albany; Mrs. Paul Cooke, of Cooperstown; Mrs. John M. Berry and Mrs. Anthony, of Troy; Mrs. J. K. Paige and others from Schenectady; Mrs. Van Vecten Olcott, Miss Mary L. Hayden, Mrs. De Rasslof, Miss Kreitler, and Mrs. J. R. Truesdale from New York.

OHIO
(APPEAL TO PARTY CONVENTIONS)

THE Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, representing a large majority of the home-making, home-loving women of Ohio, respectfully urge your honorable body to take no action and give no expression upon or relating to the constitutional amendment now before the people and providing for the extension of suffrage.

We hold that the question involved is outside the proper domain of party politics, and that it should not be connected or confused with the questions of policy upon which parties are formed or divided, or made to play a part in matters of political campaign expediency.

Inasmuch as the question has been submitted directly to the decision of the individual electors under the provisions of law, we ask that the judgment of the aforesaid electors shall not be coerced or influenced by the unconsidered approval or disapproval of a party convention selected without reference to this issue and uninstructed upon it.

In opposing the extension of suffrage to women we do not yield our conviction in the intellectual equality of the sexes or in the capacity of women to intelligently understand and pass upon questions of public policy. We simply feel that women under present conditions already have and exert an equal share of influence upon these matters; that they have within their own peculiar field of human endeavor and interest opportunities to grow to the highest point of freedom and usefulness and that the bestowal of the ballot would not improve their conditions but might lessen their actual influence upon the world's advance and work incalculable injury upon the Ohio home and the wife and mother who properly make and rule it.

We ask that this, our appeal, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

* * * * *

Both the Democratic and the Republican party conventions omitted all reference to woman suffrage in their platforms.

THE Dayton and Montgomery Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage have opened headquarters on the ninth floor of the City National Bank Building in Dayton, Ohio.

This Association asks of its members every effort for the betterment of State, Civic and Social conditions through the avenues of usefulness already open to women.

The officers are: Mrs. H. G. Carnell, Honorary President; Mrs. H. E. Talbott, President. Vice-Presidents—Mrs. E. J. Barney, Mrs. John Bradley Greene, Mrs. William Stroop, Mrs. Walter Kidder, Mrs. John A. MacMillan, Treasurer. Executive Board—Mrs. George G. Shaw, Mrs. Charles A. Craighead, Mrs. Walter L. Kuhns, Mrs. Geo. Keller. Advisory Board—H. E. Talbott, E. J. Barney, John A. MacMillan, C. A. Craighead, George G. Shaw, W. W. Stroop, Walter Kidder, Walter Kuhns. Mrs. Robert W. Martin, Business Secretary.

NORTH DAKOTA

OPPOSITION to woman suffrage in North Dakota has developed rapidly since the organization of the State Association by Miss Minnie Bronson early in June. Mrs. N. C. Young, of Fargo, who heads the Association, was for two terms President of the State Federation of Woman's Clubs, preceding the present holder of this office. Mrs. Young has resided in both the territory and State of North Dakota for twenty-eight years and naturally has a wide acquaintance throughout the State. She is the wife of Judge N. C. Young, President of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Dakota. Judge Young was the first prosecuting attorney of the State against the liquor interests, when constitutional prohibition was adopted with statehood.

Few States in the Union have better or more progressive laws than North Dakota. No concerted demand for any just legislation has ever been refused the women of the State. In its pure food laws it leads all the States, being in marked contrast to California, which, after two years of woman suffrage, is one of the few States in the Union which has no pure milk law. Its anti-cigarette and anti-snuff laws are excellent and the penalty for the enforcement of its prohibition laws is so drastic that the law is not violated as is frequently the case in some prohibition States.

Since statehood the women of North Dakota have had the educational franchise, which enables them to vote for State and county superintendent of schools. The vast majority of female citizens have faith in the integrity of their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons, however, and do not use nor want even this franchise. On June 24th last, at the primaries, the men and women of the State voted for these two offices. As an example of the interest taken by women, 31 of them voted in Cass County where 3,598 men went to the polls. In Fargo, the largest city in the State, only 20 women voted. County Auditor Addison Leech is authority for these figures. They clearly show one of two things: Either the number of Suffragists in Fargo is very small, or else they carry their political burden very lightly and carelessly. If no one of the candidates for office was worth supporting, why did they not nominate a man who was worthy of being entrusted with the education of the children of the State.

Mrs. N. C. Young, accompanied by Miss Marjorie Dorman, of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, made a week's tour of the State, speeches being made at Kenmare, Rugby and Devil's Lake, Chautauqua. Miss Dorman was in charge of a booth at the State Fair at Fargo for a week, when numerous signatures were secured and thousands of pamphlets distributed. A week later she assisted Miss Daisy Reeve, Mrs. O. D. Olson and Miss Odena Olson, of Buxton, at a booth at the Grand Forks Fair. While in North Dakota Miss Dorman participated in two debates, one at Fargo against Mrs. Irma Irwin Poppler, a woman policeman, the other at Grand Forks against Miss Jane Thompson.

When the question of woman suffrage comes before the men of North Dakota this November, it will have to receive a majority of all the ballots cast at the election. Since numerous State offices of importance are to be voted upon, the gubernatorial chair being hotly contested, it is highly improbable that the amendment would carry in any event.

"Let's Vote Against War, Ladies!"

By Mrs. Austin M. Purves.

WOMEN as a class have neither leisure, opportunity nor inclination to take up the grave study of governmental problems which should occupy men. The present electorate is bad enough, every one knows, and its quality, not its quantity, needs improving. It would be as clumsy and futile an attempt to "reform" the electorate by adding indifferent women—and eventually children—as it would be for the French and German armies to add women to their firing lines. The woman in politics can no more protect herself, and keep the male politician from doing as he pleases, than she can serve her country by becoming a soldier. In both instances she is better off behind the line of battle—her judgment is more calm, charitable and respected, and she is more free to assist the fallen and wounded if she is a non-combatant.

"Politics," declared Senator Root, in condemning woman suffrage twenty years ago, "is modified war."

"But that is awfully out of date now, even if Root is still an Anti-Suffragist," one of the younger set of vote enthusiasts told me. "Because there will never be any more real wars any way; public opinion and intelligent study now decide the questions that used to lead to war; and, besides, neither the Socialists nor the Suffragists would permit the world to go to war nowadays."

Of course; why not? Mr. Bryan, as well as Miss Marie McDonald, the noted Socialist Suffragist who ordered President Wilson to withdraw our troops from Vera Cruz under pain of dismissal in 1916, have both recently declared that there would be no more wars "if the women were consulted." Why not consult them now? Why can't we women all get together, Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, and vote for Mr. Bryan to encircle those warring European nations with silver bonds of peerless peace oratory so that the Kaiser's soldiers and the French aviators will not be able to attack each other's territory? Yes; let's vote against war, ladies. We are bound to win the election, and it would be a splendid advertisement of our fitness to take part in politics.

"The devil is voted not to be
So, of course, the devil is gone,
But will somebody step to the front and say
Who carries his business on."

—Anonymous.

SUFFRAGE GEMS

NEW YORK TRIBUNE, December 8, 1913, quotes Dr. Anna Shaw as saying at Baltimore, December 7th: "There are three women in the United States to-day who might occupy the Presidential chair with greater success than any of the Republicans, Democrats or Whigs that have so far appeared. They are Jane Addams, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and Mrs. Joseph Bowen, of Chicago. Susan B. Anthony would have made a better executive than Abraham Lincoln."

Dr. Shaw says (same interview) she does not aspire to President Wilson's seat, but she would like to be a policeman—or rather a police-woman. She has yearned for this position for twenty years. Dr. Shaw calmly announced that the Presidents of the country to date have been "abject failures," and that the men in all lines of government were the same.

Jersey City Journal, December 6, 1910. Dr. Shaw on December 5th said before the De Hart Civic Club: "That more than 5,000 Chinamen are to-day voting on the Pacific coast, while there are great swarms of Indians who go to the polls every Election Day and vote as they are instructed"!!!!

Providence Bulletin, June 17, 1909. Anna Shaw made this announcement to the Interurban Woman Suffrage Association in New York the other day: "The time has come to introduce some of these methods into our work in America. As soon as I can see that good can come to the cause out of sensational methods I shall be tooting a horn on a boat on the Hudson, fighting with policemen and doing all the other things our English sisters have done."

Bangor Commercial, April 8, 1911. Dr. Shaw is quoted: "Tax bachelors? Never in the world. Society would far better pay them an indemnity for the joys they miss * * *. One of the supposed benefits of wars is that they rid a country of the surplus population. Why should women bear surplus children to be gotten rid of by wars * * *. Undoubtedly the time will come when some women will deliberately choose motherhood as a vocation, and the Government will reward them for the service to the state."

Northampton Herald, April 29, 1911. At Northampton Dr. Shaw said of the college girl: "But the girl of to-day is not going to be a clam. She isn't a clam and she never will be."

"Let Us Have Peace"—An Editorial

(*From The Ohio State Journal, August 15, 1914*)

AT the coming general election Ohio will vote on three constitutional amendments whose ratification or rejection is of vital interest and importance. The first provides for State prohibition. The second seeks to incorporate in the constitution a declaration against prohibition and to weaken the county option act by excepting from its provisions wet municipalities in dry counties. The third provides for woman suffrage. We are against all these amendments.

We are opposed to State prohibition for two reasons. Prohibition by law does not prohibit in fact in communities where popular sentiment is against it and therefore is a breeder of disrespect for law and constituted authority in such communities. And, to illustrate by a concrete example, we see no right or justice in placing control of the personal habits of the citizens of Cincinnati in the hands of the people of Medina County.

To the liquor men's amendments we are as earnestly opposed. We see no reason why the State should give them the moral support of a constitutional declaration against prohibition and we know very well that the best sentiment of Ohio is strongly against any tampering with the county option law or any other existing temperance legislation. Strong suspicion that the liquor amendment goes even further toward destroying the local option system than appears on the surface furnishes another argument against the amendment, though no other is necessary.

There is no need to recite here the familiar arguments for and against woman suffrage. We oppose this so-called reform because we have not been convinced that doubling a suffrage already often derelict would prove of the slightest benefit to the State and because we do not believe that women, in the mass, would be made better, stronger, more influential or more useful women by having this new duty thrust upon them.

All other arguments aside, this is no time to be promoting new political and social experiments. Ohio right now is engaged in putting into effect more advanced laws than at any other one period in all her history. Let us digest what we have before we take on new controversies and uncertainties. With wars, agitations, industrial depressions and social upheavals all about us, let the self-styled reformers cease from troubling and allow the people, for a little while at least, a measure of rest and peace.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Miss M. Emmillinne Pitt, Field Secretary of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, reports that her qualified voters' anti-suffrage petition has increased from 15,000 to 50,000 in the past month.

The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association is urging the men of Ohio in a printed pamphlet: "Men of Ohio, *make your women political equals of the gamblers, the white slavers* and all the other interests that are spending thousands to keep them disfranchised."

With the appearance of "the Yellow Peril" in some of the Western States came calls to the President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage for help to stop the spread of "the disease." The antitoxin administered by the workers sent out by Mrs. Dodge in answer to this call has had the desired effect.

(*News Item*)

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, August 23.—The Woman's Suffrage Bill was rejected by Parliament last night.

This bill has been supported by the Liberal and Socialist parties. The vote on it was favorable in the second chamber, but adverse in the first.

DOVER, DEL., September 2.—There was an amusing incident in connection with the Republican State Convention here to-day. William S. Hilles, a Wilmington lawyer, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, was compelled to vote against his wife when she headed a delegation of women demanding an indorsement in the platform of woman suffrage.

The threat against members of Congress on the suffrage black list is simply one of the Quaker guns of the campaign which is being waged, but this can be said, the women are serious over it and would do it if they had the power. Defeating or electing men on one issue would of course lead to a poorly balanced national government but an organization which believes that the care of the poor and the forwarding of church work belongs to the "Antis" and can be trusted to the "Antis," will not stop at so small a matter as to whether a man is competent to make a good representative in Congress provided he is "right" on suffrage.

As a result of the work of the North Dakota Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the Democratic State Committee made no mention whatever of suffrage in its platform and the Republican voted down a minority report from the Committee on Platform, which included many other things, and suffrage endorsement, and incorporated in their platform a resolution to the effect that as the matter was before the voters for decision this fall, they recommended that Republicans inform themselves upon the subject in order that they might vote intelligently on the matter.

(*From the Rochester Times, August 8th*)

Helen Todd, of San Francisco, in addressing the Republican County Committee assembled to name delegates from Monroe to the Republican Convention at Saratoga, said:

"I went to see your postmaster yesterday and he began to talk about his reverence for women, for his wife and mother and so on, and I told him that those men who talked like that were talking hot air and that he would not support suffrage, so I would not waste his time."

After an interview with Senator Root at the Republican Convention at Saratoga, on August 17th, when the Senator declared he had expressed his attitude in the Constitutional Convention twenty years ago, Miss Todd is reported to have said: "I turned away in disgust because I realized that Senator Root had not had an idea since 1894."

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell says that Massachusetts has the largest proportion of insane persons to its population of any State in the Union. It also has, we believe, more women in proportion to men than any other State. Excellent suffrage argument!

Perhaps the insanity of its residents explains why Mrs. Pankhurst, on her last visit to this country, received a warmer welcome and more money in Boston than in any other city in which she spoke.

Is not Wyoming the State which sends its insane over the border and pays a neighboring State to take care of them? In that case it is surprising that even three insane persons were to be found there.

The socialist support of the suffrage cause has been a fine thing as the women have viewed it. Now they are going to have a chance to learn of the price which the Socialists demand of them. The platform for the Massachusetts Socialists which is to be adopted at the September convention is right at hand. It contains the usual plank in favor of votes for women, but with these additions: "Full suffrage for all adult men and women and the right to vote for all aliens over 21 years who have resided in the State for one year and have declared intentions to become citizens."

No hint of educational or other qualifications, it will be noted. It would seem as if this proposed plank is almost broad enough to cause even some of the feminists a little worry.

The primaries in California are showing some unexpected figures to the management of the several political parties in the field.

The Republicans generally showed the greatest gains. In Los Angeles County they had nearly double the number of registrations recorded by any other party. In San Francisco 75,000 Republicans were enrolled compared to 27,000 Progressives. In Sacramento the Republicans also led, but in Alameda County the Progressive registration exceeded the Republican by a thousand names. Here the Democratic showing was negligible, while in San Francisco they ran second, with the Progressives third.

In view of the fact that the Progressive administration has dominated the State for several years, these figures are interesting.

The *San Francisco Examiner* reports that only one-third of those who registered were women.

(*From the New York Evening Post, June 24, 1914*)

BEST CHILD LABOR LAWS

MASSACHUSETTS, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin and Kentucky (all non-woman suffrage States) have now the best child labor laws in the country. In these five States nearly all the provisions of the National Child Labor Committee's uniform child labor law have been enacted, and each of them has in one point or another established a higher standard. Ohio has just set a general fifteen-year age limit for boys and a sixteen-year age limit for girls. New York has included a clause regulating agricultural labor. Massachusetts is the first to require employment certificates for all working under twenty-one. Wisconsin and Kentucky forbid newspaper selling and other street trades for girls under eighteen, and Kentucky forbids such labor for all boys under nineteen years.—*The Living Church.*

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

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Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*
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27 William Street Room 1823 New York City
Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913 *Everett P. Wheeler*
Questionaire
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William I. Sedgwick*

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) *C. K. Chesterton*
Votes for Women (10c.) *Frederic Harrison*
Woman Adrift ($1.50) *Harold Owen*
The Nature of Woman ($1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*
Vocation of Woman ($1.50) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*
The Business of Being a Woman ($1.50) *Ida Tarbell*
The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage ($1.00) *Sir Almroth Wright*
The Ladies' Battle ($1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*
Book of Woman's Power ($1.25)
The Unrest of Women ($1.00) *E. S. Martin*
Votes for Men (50c.)
Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*
The Response of Woman (40c.) *Arthur W. Robinson, D. D.*
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Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*
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